

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIII. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1813. [Price 1s.

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TO JAMES PAUL,
OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWN-
SHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS
RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE
PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter VII.

My dear Friend,

When I concluded my last Letter to you, I did not suppose that I should find it necessary to address you again upon this subject; but, an event has occurred which induces me to do it. Towards the close of that Letter, at page 500, I told you, that I had heard, that the Citizens of London were about to address Her Royal Highness, the Princess, upon the subject of the conspiracy against her, and I stated the reasons, which, in my opinion, rendered this a proper step. Indeed, I had, in a former Letter, told you, that it was a matter for the people to take up without delay. You may judge, therefore, of my pleasure at hearing that it was actually done by the City of London, which, when not misled by the base sycophants of the Court, has always given an example of good sense and public spirit.

Upon the present occasion, the Address (a copy of which you will find below) was proposed by a MR. WOOD, who is an Alderman of London, and, I have the pleasure to add, that, as SHERIFF at the time of my imprisonment for two years for writing about the *flogging of English militia-men* at the town of Ely, in England, who had been first subdued by German troops, he was very kind to me, and assisted in procuring me what, in all probability, was the cause of preserving my life. This Mr. Wood it was, who had the honour to propose the Address to the assembled Citizens of London; and, this Address having been unanimously agreed to, it was, the day before yesterday, presented to Her Royal Highness, at her apartments at Kensington Palace. Not being in London at the time, I cannot give you an account of the procession from my own observation: I, therefore, give it you in the words of a very excellent daily news-paper, called the *States-*

man, and I take this opportunity of informing persons in America, who get newspapers from England, that the *Statesman* is the very best daily news-paper that we have.

“ At a quarter past twelve o'clock yesterday, the Lord Mayor, attended by the Sheriffs, and the usual retinue, proceeded in state from Guildhall to Kensington Palace, to present to the Princess of Wales the Address, voted by the Livery, in Common Hall assembled, congratulating Her Royal Highness on her triumph over the foul conspiracy formed against her honour and her life. There were upwards of a hundred carriages in the procession, which extended from Guildhall to the west end of Cheapside, where a short pause took place, for the purpose of receiving instructions; when a card was handed to the City Marshal from the Lord Mayor's carriage, with orders to proceed by Newgate-street, Skinner-street, Holborn, through St. Giles's, Oxford-street, entering the Park at Cumberland-gate, Tyburn, then to Hyde Park-corner, along Rotten-row, and out at Kensington-gate, on to the Palace;— thus making a circuitous route of more than a mile. The crowd in King-street and Cheapside was considerable, but not to be compared to the immense assemblage of persons of all descriptions who collected in St. Paul's Church-yard, along the Strand, Pall Mall, and in the streets through which the procession was expected to pass, and who felt, as might be imagined, greatly mortified at its taking a circuitous route. Mr. Alderman Combe fell into the procession, next to the state-coach, just as it turned down Newgate-street. The acclamations of joy, with which the procession was greeted, evinced the deep sense entertained by the public of the honest and manly expression of the sentiments of the Livery of London. They were loud, cordial, and reiterated. — In the Park, however, which contained an assemblage no less respectable than numerous, no disappointment occurred. The carriages, horse-

men, and spectators on foot, were numerous beyond all precedent, and the procession was greeted, as it passed, with the most enthusiastic shouts and plaudits. —About eleven o'clock Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsey and Charlotte Campbell, left Montague House, Blackheath, for Kensington Palace. Her Royal Highness travelled the most private way across the country and over Battersea Bridge, and arrived at Kensington Palace at a quarter past 12 o'clock. The populace had begun to assemble round the Palace by eleven o'clock. Soon after one, Bacon, belonging to Bow-street office, who was intrusted with the direction of the Police upon this occasion, cleared all those assembled near the entrance of the Princess's apartments, to the outside of the railing which encloses the grass-plot, to enforce which he called in a number of the military to his assistance. The Lord Mayor's gentlemen in waiting arrived about one o'clock, to be in readiness to receive his Lordship. At ten minutes past two, the grand cavalcade arrived; the crowd that accompanied it overpowered the police and the military, and burst open the gates, at which it entered. The Lord Mayor was received with marks of disapprobation by the incalculable crowd that surrounded the Palace and those in the trees. The Aldermen were received with three huzzas; Alderman Wood experienced unbounded applause, his carriage being drawn from Holborn to the door of the Palace by men. The Common Councilmen who attended on the occasion, did not appear in that character, but merely as Liverymen. Among them Mr. Waithman was discovered, and he was received with loud huzzas. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. were shown into the small dining-room, between the grand dining-room and the drawing-room. The Procession consisted of the two City Marshals, in their state uniforms, on horseback; the state carriage, and six bays, in which was the Lord Mayor, the Mace-bearer, the Sword of State, and his Lordship's Chaplain; Aldermen Combe, Wood, Goodbehere, and Heygate; Sheriff Blades and the City Remembrancer, Mr. Sheriff Hoy and his Chaplain; the Chamberlain, the Comptroller, the Solicitor, the Town Clerk, and about 150 of the Livery, in their gowns. It occupied exactly half an hour

the setting down from their carriages. It being announced to the Princess that the whole were arrived, Her Royal Highness entered from a back anti-room into the grand dining-room, and took her station at the upper end of the room, with her back to a small marble slab, before a large looking-glass; Ladies Charlotte Lindsey, Charlotte Campbell, and Lady Ann Hamilton, Her Royal Highness's ladies in waiting, stood to her right hand; and Mr. St. Leger, her Vice-Chamberlain, and Mr. H. S. Fox, on her left. The Town Clerk, in the absence of the Recorder, approached the Princess, and read the following Address:

TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE
PRINCESS OF WALES.

*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor,
Aldermen, and Livery of the City of
London, in Common Hall assembled.*

May it please your Royal Highness,
We, His Majesty's loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, bearing in mind those sentiments of profound veneration and ardent affection, with which we hailed the arrival of your Royal Highness in this country, humbly beseech your Royal Highness to receive our assurances, that in the hearts of the citizens of London, those sentiments have never experienced diminution or change.

Deeply interested in every event connected with the stability of the Throne of this Kingdom, under the sway of the House of Brunswick; tenderly alive to every circumstance affecting the personal welfare of every branch of that illustrious House, we have felt indignation and abhorrence inexpressible, upon the disclosure of that foul and detestable conspiracy which, by perjured and suborned traducers, has been carried on against your Royal Highness's honour and life.

The veneration for the laws, the moderation, the forbearance, the frankness,

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“the magnanimity, which your Royal Highness has so eminently displayed under circumstances so trying, and during a persecution of so long a duration; these, while they demand an expression of our unbounded applause, cannot fail to excite in us a confident hope, that under the sway of your illustrious and beloved Daughter, our children will enjoy all the benefits of so bright an example; and we humbly beg permission most unfeignedly to assure your Royal Highness, that, as well for the sake of our country, as from a sense of justice and of duty, we shall always feel, and be ready to give proof of the most anxious solicitude for your Royal Highness’s health, prosperity, and happiness.

“The Address was then delivered to Her Royal Highness, who read the following answer:—

“I thank you for your loyal and affectionate Address. It is to me the greatest consolation to learn, that during so many years of unmerited persecution, notwithstanding the active and persevering dissemination of the most deliberate calumnies against me, the kind and favourable sentiments with which they did me the honour to approach me on my arrival in this country, have undergone neither diminution nor change in the hearts of the Citizens of London.

“The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious House with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage; the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations.

“The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials; your approbation of my conduct under them is a reward for all my sufferings.

“I shall not lose any opportunity I may be permitted to enjoy, of encouraging the talents and virtues of my dear daughter, the Princess Charlotte; and I shall impress upon her mind my full sense of the obligation conferred upon me by this spontaneous act of your justice and generosity.

“She will therein clearly perceive the value of that free Constitution, which, in the natural course of events, it will be her high destiny to preside over, and her sacred duty to maintain, which allows no one to sink under oppression; and she will ever be bound to the City of London in ties proportioned to the strength of that filial attachment I have had the happiness uniformly to experience from her.

“Be assured, that the cordial and convincing proof you have thus given of your solicitude for my prosperity and happiness, will be cherished in grateful remembrance by me to the latest moment of my life; and the distinguished proceeding adopted by the first city of this great empire, will be considered by posterity as a proud memorial of my vindicated honour.

“Her Royal Highness read the answer with great propriety, feeling, and dignity; and some particular passages, upon which any comment would be unnecessary, were marked with peculiar sentiment and emphasis.—Immediately after the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had kissed Her Royal Highness’s hand, and while the Livery were pressing forward to enjoy the same honour, she seemed slightly agitated; but she almost instantaneously recovered herself, and exclaimed, ‘I beg, Gentlemen, that you may not hurry: you will have plenty of time.’ Mr. Alderman Wood remained in conversation a considerable

“time with Her Royal Highness; noticing
 “to the Princess the most prominent cha-
 “racters as they had the honour of kissing
 “her hand. The apartment in which
 “Her Royal Highness received the depu-
 “tation of the Livery was so very close
 “to the Gardens, where thousands were
 “assembled, that many persons near the
 “windows could see Her Royal High-
 “ness’s person distinctly.—After the
 “departure of the Livery, Her Royal
 “Highness condescendingly went to both
 “the doors, accompanied by her atten-
 “dants, and courtesied to the assembled
 “multitude. Her Royal Highness after-
 “wards presented herself from the balcony
 “on the first floor, where she was also
 “received with great acclamations, and
 “after remaining there a short time, she
 “retired to her private apartments, and
 “had a select party to dine.—The car-
 “riages of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs
 “were drawn round into the Duke of
 “Kent’s yard, where his Lordship and
 “his friends took their seats, and return-
 “ed to town in the same order they had
 “come.—Mr. Alderman Wood was, as
 “before, drawn by the populace, and was
 “greeted by the exulting shouts of the
 “spectators, who lined the roads and
 “filled the windows as he passed.—
 “Upon the arrival of the carriage of the
 “Lord Mayor at Park-lane, he ordered it
 “to turn up, in defiance of the cries ‘to
 “*Carlton House*,’ which burst from all
 “quarters—he was followed by the two
 “Sheriffs; and in his retreat encountered
 “the strongest marks of indignation from
 “the crowd, who groaned, hissed, and
 “pelted his carriage, and that of the She-
 “riffs, with mud, as long as they were in
 “view.—The remaining part of the
 “procession, at the head of which was
 “Mr. Alderman Wood’s carriage, pro-
 “ceeded down Piccadilly, cheered as they
 “went, and saluted by all who passed,
 “with the most marked respect. The
 “streets were lined with Gentlemen’s car-
 “riages, from the windows of which the
 “inmates waved their handkerchiefs, and
 “gave other demonstrations of pleasure.
 “As Alderman Wood’s carriage passed
 “the house of Sir Francis Burdett, three
 “cheers were given in honour of the wor-
 “thy Baronet, for the part he had taken
 “in the vindication of Her Royal High-
 “ness. The Procession then pursued the
 “line of St. James’s-street into Pall-mall,
 “where, on passing *Carlton House*, which
 “they did with unusual speed, some

“groans and expressions of disapprobation
 “were uttered, but no act of violence or
 “impropriety was committed. It next
 “proceeded to Charing-cross, through the
 “Strand, Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, St.
 “Paul’s Church-yard, to Guildhall, where
 “the ceremony concluded, amidst loud
 “and reiterated cheers.—Upon the
 “whole, considering the multitude assem-
 “bled, we never witnessed a spectacle
 “conducted with more propriety, attend-
 “ed with less ill consequences, for we did
 “not hear of a single accident or occur-
 “rence to lessen the heartfelt pleasure.”

Thus, I think, my friend, this matter
 may be looked upon as settled. The Ad-
 dress of the City of London expressed the
 full and clear sense of the nation. In the
 shouts of the people, upon this occasion,
 the guilty, the base, the cowardly, the
 unmanly, the detestable *Conspirators* might
 read the sentence which honesty passed
 upon them. I wonder how the wretches
 looked at each other, if any two of them
 happened to be together when they heard
 those shouts. Their feelings were to be
 envied by those only who, for some odious
 offence, are pelted in the pillory.

The sentiments of the Address and of
 the Answer are worthy of the parties and
 of the occasion; but, I am particularly
 pleased with that passage in Her Royal
 Highness’s Answer, wherein she so judi-
 ciously and so feelingly refers to the support
 that she has thus received from the people’s
 possessing rights under a *free Constitution*.
 And, as I observed to you in my last
 Letter, her Daughter cannot fail here to
 receive a lesson, that may be most benefi-
 cial to herself as well as to the country.
 Had the people possessed no political
 rights; had they had no right to assem-
 ble and to express their opinions in this
 public way, the Princess could not have
 received this mark of their good will,
 “this proud memorial of her vindicated
 “honour.”

Neither will it escape either Mother or
 Daughter, that those who have taken the
 most active part in the defence of the
 former, are such as are called *Jacobins*.
 Mr. Wood, by the base hirelings of the
 press, has long been represented as a Jaco-
 bin; as a man who wishes to destroy all
 government and all law. The Princess
 Charlotte will not fail to bear in mind,
 that they were the *friends of freedom* and of
parliamentary reform, amongst whom her
 injured Mother found zealous and success-
 ful supporters, which all the horde, who

live upon corruption, were either leagued against, or were careful to keep aloof.

I am your faithful friend,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Wednesday,
14th April, 1813.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR. — PEACE. — The successes of the Russians have, at last, produced the effect of inducing the King of Prussia openly to join them by a treaty of alliance, and, at the same moment, to declare war against France. — Thus are these two powers once more pitted against Buonaparté, who, on his side, appears to be making dreadful preparations for recovering the influence he has lost, and for chastising these his late allies. — In taking a view of the state of the war on the continent, we will not notice the particulars of that mass of falsehoods which is contained in the divers proclamations and state-papers that have appeared within these four or five months. According to these, each party is in the right; each has been ill used; each has ground of complaint against its adversary. There is, indeed, hardly a word of truth in the whole of their stories, and they are all unworthy of any particular attention. — But, on the *conduct* of the several powers we may remark; and may be able, perhaps, to form something like a correct opinion as to what will be the result of the next campaign. — The origin of this Northern war was, *the refusal of the Emperor of Russia to fulfil the Treaty of Tilsit*, in which he stipulated to adopt the *Continental system*; that is to say, to shut English commerce out of all the ports under his command. No matter what was the cause of this refusal: the refusal was certainly the cause of the war. — The terrible measure of burning Moscow, and the severities of the Russian winter, turned the tide of that war against Napoleon; and, it is not to be at all wondered at, that Prussia has swum with that tide. In fact, the King of Prussia is a mere shuttle-cock between the two Emperors. — He is, and he must be, on the side of him who has possession of his dominions. — The Duke of Bassano gives a pretty good description and history of the conduct of Prussia from the out-set of the French Revolution to the present day; and, really, when one does consider what that conduct has been, one cannot help smiling to hear the Morning Chronicle say, that the proclamation of his Prussian

Majesty to his people will be read by every *Englishman* with *sentiments of delight*. — What should induce any Englishman to feel delight at any thing which such a King can say to a people? What has he to tell them, except that, having lately been a province of France, his states are now become a province of Russia; and that they, his subjects, who, a few months ago, were fighting for France and the Continental System, are now to fight against France and the Continental System? — That the means of Napoleon have been very much crippled there can be no doubt, and it may be impossible for him so far to recruit his means, as to be able to re-enter Russia in the course of a single campaign; but, on the other hand, we see that he has been making enormous exertions to this end, and there is no doubt that he will return to the combat with an immense army. — We have, during the last twenty years, seen enough to convince us, that the French are a people not to give up easily any object of their ambition. Napoleon is ambitious enough; but he is not more ambitious than other Frenchmen. The *enthusiasm* of the Revolution; that is to say, the enthusiasm of *liberty*, against which our Government so long warred in vain, does certainly no longer exist; but, still it is the *same people*, increased in population, enriched by new sources of industry, and accustomed to conquer. When I consider this, I think that this is the moment to offer Napoleon *reasonable terms of peace*, lest, by any accident, he should recover his lost ground in the North, in which case, we may be quite sure, that the States of Prussia would pass for ever from the House of Brandenburg. — The same principle, however, which produced this war of twenty years, appears still to animate our Government; namely, *a fear of France*; a fear, that if she be left undestroyed; or, at least, *uncrippled*, we cannot be *safe*. — It was this fear that was the avowed ground, upon which Mr. Burke called for the war in 1792, and justified its continuance afterwards. In vain did the Republican government disavow conquest; in vain did it beseech England to look upon France as a friend in the cause of freedom; in vain did it declare that it would make any commercial sacrifice rather than break with England. Nothing would do. France was becoming free, and was evidently about to possess all the vigour of a free state; and this was an object of dread. — The *example*, too, of real freedom, was

something formidable in the minds of some persons. That example, however, was, unfortunately, soon rendered of no avail.—But, still there remained the power, the increased power, of France, in the hands of *new men*; and that power still remains. While war continues we feel but half the consequences of this power. Peace would shew it to us in all its alarming effects.—All the world would flock to France, which is now become the repository of all those things, to have a sight of which people formerly had to travel thousands of miles.—France, owing to various causes, is now comparatively *lightly taxed*; and, in a state of peace, she would scarcely feel the weight of taxation. This circumstance alone would draw thousands and thousands of rich people to her fine climate. The emigration from this country would, in all probability, be very great. By changing countries an Englishman would, indeed, cease to hear speeches and songs about liberty; but, he would, at the same time, lose the pretty little printed papers that are handed to him every now and then, with nice blank spaces for him to write down how much he receives, how much he earns, how many children he has to keep, how many horses, mules, wheels, dogs, footmen, and so forth, he employs, and whether his head be, or be not, powdered. He would, in short, lose the liberty of having *a case*, at his own expense, drawn up for the Judges, without a Jury, to determine, whether his goods shall, or shall not, be seized, if he refuse to pay the sum, which Commissioners, appointed by the Government, demand from him.—Here, in my opinion, we may look for one of the chief causes of the continuation of this war. The cause is a persuasion, in the mind of our Government, that, if France be left as she now is, there would be no safety for England in a state of peace; that the former would, in a few years, *grow over her*; and, that to begin a new war, at the end of four or five years of peace, would be attended with difficulties not to be overcome. Besides this, peace would do nothing for us, unless we could lay down our fleet and our army; and how could we do either, France being in possession of all her present power and her present means? The time which we must employ in disbanding and dismantling, she would be able to employ in recruiting and building. A peace with the establishments of war would answer us no purpose at all; and yet, if France retain her present power, how are we to dispense with these estab-

lishments?—These are the arguments against peace so long as France remains what she now is; and, hence it is concluded, that we ought to persevere in the war, *until the power of France be so reduced as to make peace a measure of safety*; for, if we never succeed in reducing the power of France, we shall be no worse off than we should be in making a peace with her now, seeing that such a peace must end in our subjugation.—Supposing *all* this to be true, and some part of it is true, what have those to answer for who began the war, and who, by refusing repeatedly to make peace, have, at last, reduced us to such a dilemma? They went to war on the pretence of preventing the French from partaking with the Dutch in the navigation of the river Scheldt; and what has been the result?—However, the grand question is, what is to be done *now*? Ought we to offer to negotiate, or not, at this moment? Or, ought we to run the risk of another campaign, and to take other chances of reducing the power of France before we negotiate? I think we ought to negotiate if we can; that we ought to see what we are able to do by negotiation, since we have been able to do nothing by war.—I would, for my part, give up all our conquests, I would leave Sicily, Spain, and Portugal to defend themselves; for, after all, leave them we must; I would disband nine-tenths of the army; I would keep up, in good order, a moderate fleet; I would give up the pretended right of impressing people on board the ships of America; I would put arms into the hands of the people of Great Britain and Ireland; I would reform the Parliament; I would reduce the taxes; and then I would set France at defiance. Those who are not prepared to do this; those who are not prepared for doing *all* these things, must be content with a continuation of the war; for, without reform, and a reduction of taxes at home, it appears to me clear as day-light, that it would be impossible for this country to maintain itself in peace against the overgrowing power of France. France must be reduced by war, or we must make such reforms as to enable us to exist in peace. One of these two must take place, or this nation must fall under the power of France.—This is my opinion, and I should be glad to hear any one seriously maintain the contrary. I should be glad to hear what those have to say, who cry out for peace, and who are silent upon the subject of reform at home.—I have seen petitions for

peace; but I have never noticed them as being worthy of great attention; because I know that no *real* peace can be made unless it be accompanied with reform; because I know, that, until England be made a different place to live in from what it now is, there can be no real peace with France, possessed of all her present power. Those, therefore, who oppose reform, are perfectly consistent in being opposed to peace with France at this time; and, as both the great political factions are opposed to reform, they ought both to be opposed to peace.—The Morning Chronicle, which, in general, speaks the sentiments of the Whigs, is often reproving the Ministers for not entering into negotiations for peace.—But, will Mr. Perry undertake to shew any one benefit with which peace, without the previous reduction of the power of France, would be attended? A peace would, at once, open all the ports and harbours of France; it would bring out the French ships; it would, in a short time, create a French navy. It would give Napoleon the time and the means to make himself formidable by sea. We must, therefore, keep up our navy to nearly its present amount of force. The army we must also keep up; for he need not disband a single battalion. What *saving*, therefore, would peace bring us? If it produced no saving of expense, it would, of course, not reduce the taxes; and, if it did not reduce the taxes, who, with such a prospect before him, would remain in England if he could quit it? Who that had ten thousand pounds would remain here to pay, in one way or another, one-half of the interest of it to the Government, and that, too, without the most distant prospect of alleviation? The nation, under such circumstances, must dwindle into a state of feebleness that would naturally prepare the way for utter subjugation. To reduce the taxes without reducing the army; indeed without disbanding the army, it is nonsense to talk of; to disband the army without putting arms into the hands of the people would be to invite invasion; and, to put arms into the hands of the people, without giving them a share in the concern by the means of a Parliamentary Reform, would be madness.—No: as Major Cartwright has long ago contended, and long ago proved, the only sure defence is in an armed people, represented in parliament by persons chosen by that population. His scheme is, that the duty of arms-bearing and the right of voting should go hand in hand: and to this we must, I

am persuaded, at last, come, if the independence of this kingdom is to be preserved.—There are people weak enough to believe, that, if the Whigs were in power, we might *hope for peace*. But, did any man ever hear the Whigs talk of a reform in parliament? Yes, *formerly* they did; but the moment they were in possession of power they ceased to talk upon such subjects. They are now full as much the enemies of reform as are any of their opponents; so that their talk about *peace* is a mere trick practised against the Ministers, who are much more consistent in talking neither about peace nor reform.—They see clearly, that without reform, that is to say, without a great change in the system of ruling this country and managing its resources, including always a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, this country cannot exist in peace, if France retains her present power and possessions; and, therefore, as they are bent against reform, they are also bent on war, until the power of France be reduced. They, very likely, have doubts as to the result of the war; they have their fears, perhaps, that the power of France will finally be increased by the war, instead of being reduced by it; but, even in that case, they are consistent; for, it is no matter that ruin come in that way, if they be convinced that ruin would also come in the other way. The Ministers, therefore, are consistent; and those only are inconsistent, who call for peace and are silent upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform.—Now is the moment to offer peace. Napoleon is so situated as to make him lend an ear to such an offer; but, unless you can prevail upon him to give up two-thirds of his power, which is not very likely, it is useless to make peace, if you be not, at the same time, prepared to make a reform at home.—I should be very glad, if I could prevail upon the manufacturers, and upon all those who suffer from the war, to see the matter in this light.—They feel the evils of war; the masters are ruined and the journeymen are starved *by the war*. That is enough: they look no further: they ask for *peace*. But, they do not reflect on the causes of peace being refused; they do not ask themselves how peace is to be got; they do not take time to inquire into the consequences of peace as things now stand with regard to the relative power of the two countries. If they did, they would soon discover, that peace is not to be had without a parliamentary reform, or without a reduction of the power

of France by war; and, of course, instead of calling out for peace, they would call out for the previous measure of Parliamentary Reform.—A peace at this time, or at any time, leaving France in possession of Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, Italy, and Naples; such a peace, it cannot be too often repeated, would not enable us to save a shilling, while it would reduce our means of paying taxes, and would enable Napoleon to make a marine force capable of giving us serious annoyance in case of another war. But, if we, by arming the people of this kingdom, could save, at once the expenses of the army and of a large portion of the navy, then, indeed, a peace would be worth having; we should then be in safety, and the country, relieved from a large portion of its enormous burdens, would be comparatively happy. This, I repeat it, is to be accomplished only by making voting and arms-bearing go hand in hand; and, therefore, I say, give us a Parliamentary Reform, as being the only sure road to a safe and lasting peace.—As to the wars of Russia and Prussia; as to the proclamations of those sovereigns and their generals; as to the vows and acclamations of the people whom they address; what do all these amount to? They are of very little consequence to us. Even the complete success of these our new friends would do nothing for the people of England, whatever it might do for the people of their own countries. For my part, I can see nothing that the people of the Prussian States are likely to gain by the change. They will change masters. They will fall back into the hands that they were formerly in. Their condition will not be mended. The successes of Russia may open a channel for our commerce; but, I take it, that will be all. The power of France will continue nearly the same with regard to England. At the very best, all I expect from those successes is a mitigation of the Continental System.—So far, however, am I from believing in the continuation of those successes, that I believe most firmly they will speedily come to an end. The French armies are upon the point of once more moving forward; and it will not be easy to make me doubt of their defeating those whom they have so often driven before them. I am aware of the effect of the turning of the tide of victory; but, this is the first time that the French armies have been such a tide. Reverses in battle have yet subdued their spirit: they now partakes in the feelings of the people, and are now goaded on by the

two furious passions of ambition and revenge: and, whatever they are capable of, may now be expected from them.

In the last Number, p. 562, l. 6,
for take off read take of.

LETTERS OF LORD MOIRA AND MR. WHITBREAD, RELATIVE TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

(Continued from page 576.)

no hesitation in saying, that, to the best of my recollection, it contains the substance of what I said in my place. Some verbal inaccuracies are quite immaterial.—I am bound to fulfil your Lordship's hope, by making your Letter to me public. In endeavouring to obtain the explanation of passages so generally misunderstood, I knew not how to proceed effectually, but by motion in the House of Commons; and the motion having been calculated to obtain your Lordship's attendance in the House of Commons, if successful, your Lordship would have had the opportunity of giving the explanations, in the very place where they were asked for; and I never had any doubt of their honourable and satisfactory nature. But the discussions in the House of Commons having now been dropped (as I sincerely hope never again to be revived), I will send your Letter, and my answer, directly to the Public Journals.—It will give me pleasure to acknowledge, by the same means, much personal civility received at various times from your Lordship; and particularly in the manner in which I was requested, and the urbanity with which I was received, to peruse the documents to which your Lordship has referred in the early part of the present year. In the discussions which afterwards arose, I did not use the knowledge I had so acquired of any one of them, until after it had appeared in print.—I regret, that in the course of these discussions I have given momentary pain to their Lordships, or cause of dissatisfaction to any persons, of whose friendship and esteem I was pleased in thinking I possessed a share. The loss, if lost, is entirely my own—it is painful to me. But justice has been the object of my pursuit—that pursuit has been conscientiously conducted by me, and must therefore, of necessity, have been free from all selfish considerations.—With the addition of these explanations from your Lordship, so honourable to the Princess of Wales, and so just to yourself, the public will be satisfied, that justice has been completely obtained. I have the honour to be,



my dear Lord, your Lordship's obliged
and obedient servant,
SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

*To the Right Honourable the Earl
of Meira, K. G. &c. &c.*

AMERICAN STATES.

*Commodore Bainbridge to the Secretary of
the Navy.*

St. Salvador, Jan. 3.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 29th ult. at two *p. m.* in South lat. 13. 06. and West long. 38. about ten leagues distance from the coast of Brazil, I fell in with and captured His Britannic Majesty's frigate *Java*, of 49 guns, and upwards of 400 men, commanded by Capt. Lambert, a very distinguished officer. The action lasted one hour and 55 minutes, in which time the enemy was completely dismantled, not having a spar of any kind standing. The loss on board the *Constitution* was nine killed and 25 wounded. The enemy had 60 killed and 101 wounded certainly (among the latter Capt. Lambert mortally); but by the enclosed letter written on board the ship (by one of the officers of the *Java*), and accidentally found, it is evident that the enemy's wounded must have been much greater than as above stated, and who must have died of their wounds previously to their being removed. The letter states 60 killed and 170 wounded.—For further details of the action, I beg to refer to the extracts from my journal. The *Java* had, in addition to her own crew, upwards of 100 supernumerary officers and seamen, to join the British ships of war in the East Indies; also Lieut.-General Hislop, appointed to the command of Bombay, Major Wilke, and Captain Wood, of his Staff, and Captain Marshall, Master and Commander of the British navy, going to the East Indies to take the command of a sloop of war there.—Should I attempt to do justice, by representation, to the brave and good conduct of all my officers and crew during the action, I should fail in the attempt; therefore, suffice it to say, that the whole of their conduct was such as to merit my highest encomiums. I beg leave to recommend the officers particularly to the notice of Government, as also the unfortunate seamen who were wounded, and the families of those brave men who fell in the action.—The great distance from our own coast, and the perfect wreck we made the enemy's frigate, forbade every idea of

attempting to take her to the United States, and not considering it prudent to trust her into a port of Brazil, particularly St. Salvador, as you will perceive by the enclosed letters 1, 2, and 3, I had no alternative but burning her, which I did on the 31st ult. after receiving all the prisoners and their baggage, which was very tedious work, only having one boat left (out of eight), and not one boat left on board the *Java*.—On blowing up the frigate, I proceeded to this place, where I have landed all the prisoners to return to England, and there remain until regularly exchanged, and not serve in their professional capacities in any place or in any manner whatever against the United States of America, until the exchange shall be regularly effected.—I have the honour to be, &c.

W. BAINBRIDGE.

*House of Representatives, Wednesday,
Feb. 24.*

The following message was received from the President of the United States, which, after being read, was referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations:—

*To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States.*

I lay before Congress copies of a Proclamation of the British Lieutenant Governor of the island of Bermuda, which has appeared under circumstances leaving no doubt of its authenticity. It recites a British Order in Council of the 26th of October last, providing for the supply of the British West Indies, and other colonial possessions, by a trade under special licenses, and is accompanied by circular instructions to the Colonial Governors, which confines licensed importations from the ports of the United States to the ports of the Eastern States exclusively.—The Government of Great Britain had already introduced into her commerce during a war, a system which at once violated the rights of other nations, and, resting on a mass of forgery and perjury unknown to other times, was making an unfortunate progress in undermining those principles of morality and religion which are the best foundation of national happiness.—The policy now proclaimed to the world introduces into her mode of warfare a system equally distinguished by the deformity of its features and the depravity of its character; having for its object to dissolve the ties of allegiance, and the sentiments of loyalty in the adversary nation, and to seduce

and separate its component parts the one from the other.—The general tendency of these demoralizing and disorganizing contrivances will be reprobated by the civilized and Christian world; and the insulting attempt on the virtue, the honour, the patriotism, and the fidelity of our brethren of the Eastern States, will not fail to call forth all their indignation and resentment, and to attach more and more all the States to that happy union and constitution against which such insidious and malignant artifices are directed.—The better to guard, nevertheless, against the effect of individual cupidity and treachery, and to turn the corrupt projects of the enemy against herself, I recommend to the consideration of Congress the expediency of an effectual prohibition of any trade whatever, by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, under special licenses, whether relating to persons or ports, and, in aid thereof, a prohibition of all exportation from the United States in foreign bottoms, few of which are actually employed, whilst multiplied counterfeits of their flags and papers are covering and encouraging the navigation of the enemy.

JAMES MADISON.

February 24, 1813.

PRUSSIA AND FRANCE.

Note of the Prussian Government annexed to the Report of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned Chancellor of State has just received an order from the King to lay before his Excellency Count de Marsau, Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. &c. the following:—The King, in all his political conduct since the peace of Tilsit, had principally in view to give and ensure to his people a state of tranquillity which might gradually enable them to recover from the numberless misfortunes and losses which they had just suffered.—For this purpose he fulfilled with exactness, as far as his means permitted him, the engagements which he had been forced to by that peace. He has supported with resignation the arbitrary exactions, the spoliation of every description of which the provinces did not cease to be the object; the enormous charges with which they were loaded. He neglected nothing in order to establish between him and the French Government a sincere confidence,

and thus dispose it to measures of justice and equity, which he almost always demanded in vain.—When the North of Europe saw itself menaced with a new fatal war, the King, after doing every thing that depended upon him to avert the storm, took the part which the intermediate position of his States that admitted not of neutrality, and a certain perspective of the destructive measures that awaited them on the part of France, if he refused what was demanded of him, imperiously prescribed. He resigned himself to the sovereign engagements, out of all proportion to the ability of the country, to which he found himself obliged to acquiesce by the treaty of alliance of the 24th February, and the conventions which accompanied it, in the hope of having obtained for Prussia solid support, and in case of necessity, efficacious succour, of which, after so many reverses, she daily felt the greater necessity; and that the French Government, answering the fidelity with which the King purposed to fulfil his obligations, would, on its side, fulfil with the same exactness the obligation it had contracted with him.—Unhappy experience proved to him but too soon, that such were not the intentions of that Government. Whilst the King furnished the number of troops agreed upon, to form the stipulated auxiliary corps; whilst that these troops shed their blood in the cause of France, with a bravery to which the Emperor himself has not refused to do justice; whilst that in the interior of the country they bore up, by extraordinary efforts, against furnishing the enormous supplies, and loans of all kinds, which the wants of the troops, who did not cease to inundate it, required. France fulfilled not, in any manner, the obligations contracted, the exact accomplishment of which could alone prevent the entire ruin of the country and its inhabitants.—It was stipulated that the garrison of Glogau should be provisioned at the expense of France, reckoning from the date of the treaty, and those of Custrin and Stettin, after the entire payment of the contributions; the latter was paid, and even more, in the month of May, in last year, by the deliveries which had been made—nevertheless Prussia remained charged with provisioning these three garrisons, without any representations being able to effect what justice and the letter of the treaty demanded. We had flattered ourselves, at least, according to the recent promise of His Majesty the Emperor, the country round those

places, as the Prussian territory, would henceforth have been sheltered from all forced requisitions, but at the very moment when we delivered ourselves up to this hope, the Commandants received a formal order, to take for ten leagues round the fortresses, every thing of which they believed they stood in want, which was executed with all the violence which was foreseen. It was agreed, that sums advanced by Prussia for supplies of all kinds, should be settled every three months, and the balance paid down at the end of the campaign. But she could not obtain that even these accounts should be examined, and when the balance amounted to very large sums, of which she was every moment to furnish the proofs, when at the end of the year it was 94,000,000 of francs, the most lively representations were not able to procure payment of a single account, although the King had, for the moment, confined his demand to a sum less than half the urgent, absolute, and indispensable necessity for which had been demonstrated by the most powerful evidence. The clause of the treaty of alliance which ensured the neutrality of a part of Silesia, could not, under the circumstances which since occurred, take effect, unless Russia, on her part, acquiesced in it, and this acquiescence, supposed of necessity, that they should treat about this object. Nevertheless the Emperor caused it to be declared, that he would not consent that the King should send any one to the Emperor Alexander for this purpose, and in thus rendering the stipulation entirely illusory, in point of fact, withdrew from, annulled it. Fresh attempts were made against the King's incontestable rights, by the arbitrary dispositions indulged in, with respect to the corps of Prussian troops in Pomerania, under General Bulow, by calling it to join the Duke of Belluno's division, and in placing it previously to having obtained His Majesty's consent, under the orders of that Marshal, as well as by the prohibition of all recruiting whatever in the Prussian states, occupied by the French troops, which was published by order of the Viceroy of Italy, without informing His Majesty of it. Never, undoubtedly, was the sovereignty of a friendly Prince, attacked in a more terrible manner.—It is unnecessary to recapitulate the melancholy details which have lately appeared, they are perfectly known to your Excellency and the Duke of Bassano, by the numerous remonstrances of which they have been the sub-

ject. Besides, General de Krusemarck is charged to deliver a note to the Minister, which will enlarge more upon so many objects, which clearly proves, that the French Government, in holding in no consideration the principal stipulations of the treaty of alliance in favour of Prussia, which, nevertheless, formed so many essential conditions of it, and without which the latter would have, whatever might have been the consequence, subscribed to the conditions imposed on her, has itself freed her from those reciprocal obligations contained in it. No person is ignorant of the situation in which Prussia now finds herself, in consequence of these circumstances, and generally of the events of the Autumn and Winter, abandoned to herself, without hope of efficacious support on the part of a power, to whom she was bound, and from whom she did not even obtain the objects of the most strict justice, which she only wished the latter to grant her; seeing two-thirds of her provinces exhausted, and their inhabitants reduced to despair, what remains for her, except taking council of herself, raising and supporting herself? It is in the love and courage of his people, and in the generous interest of a great power, which compassionates his situation, that the King has determined to seek the means of getting out of it, and of restoring to his Monarchy the independence which can alone ensure its future prosperity.—His Majesty has just taken the measures which so grave circumstances exact to join himself by a strict alliance with His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. He is persuaded that France, as well as all Europe, will appreciate the powerful motives which have decided his measures.—These measures tend in their final result but to a peace, founded upon bases equitable and calculated to augment its solidity. It has always been, and will constantly remain, the most ardent of the King's wishes, and if Providence blesses his efforts, His Majesty will find himself at the height of happiness in being able to contribute in rendering benefit to humanity. The undersigned has the honour to renew to his Excellency Count de St. Marsau, the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) HARDENBURG.

Breslaw, 16th March.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM M. DE KRUSEMARCK.

Paris, March 27, 1813.

MONSIEUR LE DUC,—I have just received.

ed an order from my Sovereign to lay before you the following:—The propositions which I have anteriorly had the honour of submitting to you were of a nature to merit a reply equally prompt as decisive. The progress of the Russian arms in the centre of the monarchy, does not permit Prussia any longer to prolong that state of uncertainty in which she is. On one side the Emperor of Russia, united to the King by bonds of personal friendship, offers Prussia, in this decisive moment, the support of his power, and the advantages of his friendship; on the other, his Majesty the Emperor of the French persists in repulsing an Ally who has sacrificed himself in his cause, and disdains even to explain himself upon the motives of his silence. For a length of time France has violated, in every point, the treaties which connected her with Prussia. Not contented with having dictated at Tilsit a peace, equally hard and humiliating, she has not even permitted her to enjoy the trifling advantages which that treaty seemed to allow her. She has made use of odious pretexts to shake to their foundations the fortune of the State, and those of individuals. Since that epoch, Prussia has been treated as a conquered country, and oppressed by a yoke of iron. The French armies remained in it contrary to the terms of the treaty, and lived at discretion in it during eighteen months; exorbitant and arbitrary contributions were imposed upon her; her commerce was ruined by obliging her to adopt the continental system; French garrisons were placed in the three fortresses of the Oder; the country was obliged to defray the expense of their appointments; in short, by the treaty of Bayonne, the property of widows and orphans was disposed of, in manifest contradiction to the stipulations of the treaty of peace; every thing announced that no sort of regard would be kept with an unfortunate and oppressed state. In this state of things, peace became an illusory benefit. The King groaned under the enormous weight which oppressed his subjects. He flattered himself with vanquishing, by the force of condescension and sacrifices, an animosity the effects of which he knew, but of whose principle he was ignorant. He gave himself up to the hope of sparing his people greater misfortunes, in fulfilling scrupulously his engagements towards France, and in carefully avoiding every thing which could give her offence. By extraordinary and unheard-of efforts, Prussia succeeded in paying two-thirds of the

contribution: she was preparing to pay the remainder, when clouds arose between Russia and France, and when the immense preparations of those two powers did not any longer permit her to doubt of the war about to be kindled in the North. The King, faithful to his principle of saving, at any price, the national existence, judging of the future by the past, felt that he had every thing to fear from France. He sacrificed his affections, and concluded with her a treaty of alliance. At the epoch of the conclusion of the treaty, before the news could have reached Berlin, the French troops entered Pomerania and the Marche Elcetroale. The King with grief saw that no attention was paid to his frank and loyal intentions. They would obtain by force what it appeared impossible to obtain by negotiations. Agents of Prussia, frightened by the menacing attitude of France, had signed at Paris separate conventions, which contained conditions extremely burdensome, relative to the provisioning and wants of the Grand Army. The French Government, instructed respecting the mediocrity of our resources, foresaw a refusal,—prepared to gain the King's consent by the appearance of force, and deceived itself. His Majesty ratified these conventions, although he felt the difficulty of fulfilling them; he reckoned upon the devotion of Prussians, and he hoped that by defining the extent of our sacrifices, he would preserve his people from arbitrary requisitions, and their fatal consequences. Experience did not justify this hope. Whilst Prussia exhausted all her means to pour into the magazines the stipulated products, the French armies lived at the expense of individuals. At the same time were exacted the fulfilment of the treaty, and the daily consumption of the troops. The sacred property of the inhabitants was taken away by main force, without rendering the least account of it, and Prussia lost by these acts of violence above 70,000 horses, and 20,000 carriages. —Notwithstanding all these shackles, the King, faithful to his system, fulfilled with religious faith all the engagements he had made. The supplies were successfully realized, the stipulated contingent advanced; nothing was omitted to prove the loyalty of our conduct. France only replied to this devotion by pretensions always new, and believed herself able to dispense, on her side, with fulfilling the stipulations of the treaty which fell to her charge. She constantly refused to examine the accounts for supplies furnished, although she had en-

tered into a formal engagement to settle them every three months.—The Military Convention ensured to the Emperor, till a new arrangement with Prussia, possession of the fortresses of Glogau, Stettin, and Gustrin; but the provisioning of the first of those places was, from the date of signing that convention, to have been at the expense of France; and the others, from the day on which the King should have fulfilled his new engagements respecting the discharge of the contribution. The King, in acquiescing in this article, had already given France proofs of his condescension, in renouncing the stipulations of 1808; according to which Glogau was to be given up to Prussia, as soon as half the contribution should be paid. The new treaty was not better observed by France than that which preceded it. The provisioning of Glogau, and that of the other fortresses, caused by the Convention, and the discharge of the contributions already realized in the month of May last year, notwithstanding the most pressing representations, remain at the expense of Prussia to this day. The Convention stipulated nothing respecting the fortresses of Pillau and Spandau; they, in consequence, were to remain occupied by Prussian troops; the French troops, however, entered them by a sort of military surprise, and maintained themselves in them.—Whilst the weight of Prussia's expenses was indefinitely augmented—whilst she proved, that, after having paid her contribution, her advances were enormous—all kinds of assistance were persisted in being refused her: all her demands were answered by a contemptuous silence, and incessantly demanding fresh sacrifices: the inconceivable efforts of a burdened nation appeared to be considered as nothing. At the end of the preceding year, the advances by Prussia amounted to 94,000,000 of francs. The accounts were in as good order as they could be, considering the constant refusal of the French Authorities to settle them agreeably to the treaty. His Majesty never ceased to represent, through his agents, that it became urgent to do justice to his demands, that his exhausted States could no longer support the French armies. The King, for the moment, confined himself to demanding an account respecting these advances, candidly declaring that he could not answer for events in case of a refusal. This language, equally just as clear; these demands, founded on the most sacred titles, remained without reply, and only produced vague assurances

and distant promises. Besides, as if it was not sufficient to violate the most positive treaties, new proceedings took place to enlighten Prussia respecting the Emperor's intentions, and what she had a right to expect from him. The King seeing one part of his provinces invaded, and the other menaced, without being able to rely upon the assistance of the French armies, obliged to reinforce his own, and the ordinary way being tedious and insufficient, his Majesty addressed an appeal to the young Prussians who wished to range themselves under his colours. This awakened in every heart the desire of serving the country. A great number of volunteers were preparing to leave Berlin for Breslau, when it pleased the Viceroy to interdict all recruiting, and the departure of the volunteers, in the provinces occupied by the French troops. This prohibition was issued in the most peremptory manner, and without acquainting the King with it. Any attempt so directly aimed at the rights of Sovereignty, excited in the heart of his Majesty, and those of his faithful subjects, a just indignation. At the same time, and whilst the fortresses on the Oder ought for a long time to have been provisioned at the expense of France, after the Emperor had formally declared in an audience given to Hatzfeldt, that he had interdicted the French authorities from making any kind of requisitions in the States of the King, the Governors of these fortresses received orders to take by main force, for a circle of ten leagues, every thing which was requisite for their defence and provisioning. This arbitrary and unjust order, and which they did not even take the trouble of acquainting the King, was executed in all its extent, in defiance of the sacred title of property, and with details of violence which it would be difficult to depict. Notwithstanding all the reasons which the King had for breaking with France, he yet wished to try the effect of negotiations. He informed the Emperor Napoleon, that he would send a confidential person to the Emperor of Russia, in order to engage him to acknowledge the neutrality of that part of Silesia which France had acknowledged. It was the only means which remained to the King, abandoned, at least, for a moment, by France, for having a sure asylum, and not being placed in the cruel situation of leaving his States. The Emperor haughtily pronounced against this step, and did not even deign to explain himself upon the propositions which accompanied that overture. In such a state of things, the King's deci-

sion could not long remain doubtful. He had for years sacrificed every thing for the preservation of his political existence: now France compromised that existence, and did nothing to protect it. Russia can aggravate his misfortunes, and generously offers to protect him. The King cannot hesitate:—faithful to his principles and his duties, he joins his arms to those of the Emperor Alexander, changing his system without changing his object. He hopes, in breaking with France, and attaching himself to Russia, to obtain, by an honourable peace, or by force of arms, the only object of his wishes—the independence of his people—the benefits which will result from it, and the inheritance of his fathers, the half of which has been ravished from him. The King will adhere, with all his power, to every proposition conformable to the common interests of the Sovereigns of Europe. He is earnestly desirous that they may lead to a state of things, in which treaties may no longer be simple truces—where power becomes the guarantee of justice,—and where each returning with his natural rights, may no longer be tormented in all the points of his existence, by the abuse of power.—This is, M. Le Duc, what I am charged to state for your Excellency's information. Be pleased to give an account of it to his Majesty the Emperor. Europe has seen with astonishment the long resignation of a nation distinguished in the annals of history by its brilliant courage, and its noble perseverance.—Now, directed by the most sacred motives, there is no person among us, who is not determined to sacrifice every consideration to the great interests of his throne, the country, and the independence of Europe; no one who will not think himself happy in perishing for this noble end, and in defending his house.—I have orders immediately to proceed to the King, my august Master, with Prince Hatzfeldt, his Privy Councillor of State Begnelin, and the persons attached to these different missions. I have the honour to beg your Excellency to forward me the necessary passports for this purpose.—I hasten to renew to you, at the same time, the assurance of my most high consideration.

(Signed) KRUSEMARCK.

REPLY TO THE NOTE OF M. THE BARON DE KRUSEMARCK.

Paris, April 1, 1813.

M. Baron,—I have laid before His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Note which you did me the honour of addressing to me

on the 27th of March.—What is most deserving of serious consideration may be reduced to what follows.—That Prussia solicited and concluded an alliance with France in 1812, because the French armies had approached nearer to the Prussian States than the Russian armies.—Prussia declares in 1813, that she violates her treaties, because the Russian armies have approached nearer to her States than the French armies. Posterity will judge, whether such conduct be faithful, and worthy of a great Prince, conformable to equity and sound policy.—It will always do justice to the perseverance of your Cabinet in its principles.—In 1792, when France was inwardly agitated by a Revolution, and from without, attacked by a formidable enemy, appeared like to sink, Prussia made war on her.—Three years afterwards, and at the moment when France was triumphant over the coalesced powers, Prussia abandoned her allies, she left the side of the combination together with its fortune, and the King of Prussia was the first of the Sovereigns who had taken up arms against France, that acknowledged the Republic.—Four years had scarcely elapsed (in 1799), when France felt the vicissitudes of war; some battles had been lost in Switzerland and Italy; the Duke of York had landed in Holland, and the Republic was threatened both from the North and the South; Fortune had changed, and Prussia had changed with her.—But the English were driven from Holland; the Russians were beaten at Zurich; victory again came under our colours in Italy, and Prussia became the Friend of France.—In 1805, Austria took up arms: she carried her arms to the Danube; she took possession of Bavaria; whilst the Russian troops passed the Niemen, and advanced towards the Vistula.—The union of three great powers, and their immense preparations appeared to presage nought but defeat to France. Prussia could not hesitate an instant; she armed herself; she signed the treaty of Berlin; and the manes of Frederic the Second were called upon to witness the eternal hatred which she vowed against France. When her Minister, sent to His Majesty to dictate the law to him, had arrived in Moravia, the Russians had just lost the battle of Austerlitz, and it was owing to the generosity of the French that they were allowed to return into their own country. Prussia immediately tore the treaty of Berlin, concluded only six weeks

before, abjured the celebrated oath of Potsdam; betrayed Russia as she had betrayed France; and entered into fresh engagements with us. But from these eternal fluctuations in politics, proceeded a real anarchy in the public opinion in Prussia; an exultation took place in men's minds which the Prussian Government were not able to direct; they supported it, and, in 1806, declared war against France, at a moment when it was their best interest to keep up a good understanding with her. Prussia being entirely conquered, saw herself, above her own hopes, admitted to sign, at Tilsit, a peace by which she received every thing, and gave nothing.—In 1809, the war with Austria broke out: Prussia was again going to change her system; but the first military events leaving no doubts of the definitive result of the campaign, Prussia was governed by prudence, and did not dare to declare herself.—In 1811, the preparations made by Russia threatening Europe with a new war, the geographical situation of Prussia did not permit her to remain an indifferent spectatress of the events which were about taking place: and you, M. le Baron, were charged so early as the month of March in the same year, to solicit the alliance of France; and it is useless for me to recall to your remembrance what passed at that period. It is useless for me to repeat either your reiterated instances or your warm solitudes.—His Majesty, remembering what was past, at first hesitated what part he should take. But he thought that the King of Prussia, enlightened by experience, was at length become sensible of the versatile policy of your Cabinet. He felt himself obliged for the steps which it had taken at St. Petersburg to prevent the rupture. It was, besides, contrary to his justice and his heart to declare war, merely for the considerations of political convenience. He yielded to his personal sentiments towards your Sovereign, and consented to make an alliance with him. So long as the chances of war were favourable to us, your Court shewed itself faithful; but scarcely had the premature rigours of the winter attacked our armies on the Niemen, when the defection of General D'Yorck reawakened suspicions but too well founded. The equivocal conduct of your Court in so weighty a circumstance; the departure of the King for Breslau; the treachery of General Bulow, who opened to the enemy the passage of the Nether Oder; the public Ordinances, to excite a turbulent and factious youth to take up arms; the

junction at Breslau of men designated as chiefs of the disturbers, and as the principal instigators of the war of 1806; the daily communications established between your Court and the head-quarters of the enemy, had for a long time left no doubt of the resolutions of your Court; when, M. le Baron, I received your note of the 27th of March, and it has therefore caused no surprise. Prussia wishes, it is said, to recover the inheritance of her ancestors; but we may ask her, if, when she speaks of losses which her false policy has caused her to suffer, she has likewise made some acquisitions to put into the scale: if, among those acquisitions, there be none which she owes to her faithless policy? It is, that she owes Silesia to the abandonment of a French army in the walls of Prague; and all her acquisitions in Germany, to the violation of the laws and interests of the Germanic Body.—Prussia talks of her desire of obtaining a peace founded on a solid basis; but how is it possible to reckon on a solid peace with a power which believes herself justified when she breaks her engagements according to the caprices of fortune.—His Majesty prefers a declared enemy to a friend always ready to abandon him.—I will not carry these observations any farther; I shall content myself with asking, what would an enlightened Statesman, and a friend to his country, have done, who, in thought, placing himself at the helm of affairs of Prussia, from the day when the revolution in France broke out, would have conducted himself according to the principles of a sound and moral policy.—At present, M. Baron, what remains for Prussia? She has done nothing for Europe; she has done nothing for her ancient Ally; she will do nothing for peace. A power, whose treaties are only conditional, cannot be an useful mediator; she guarantees nothing; she is nothing but a subject of discussion; she is not even a barrier. The finger of Providence has shewn itself in the events of this winter; it has produced them to unmask false friends, and mark the faithful ones; it has given his Majesty power sufficient to ensure the triumph of the one, and the chastisement of the others.—I have the honour to transmit you the passports which you have requested of me.

(Signed) THE DUKE DE BASSANO.

NORTHERN WAR.

LONDON, *Foreign Office*, April 10, 1813.
 Dispatches, of which the following are Co-

pies, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia.

*Imperial Head-quarters, Kalisch,
March 6, 1813.*

Referring to my dispatch from St. Petersburg, by the messenger Lyell, I have now the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that having begun my journey, upon the Emperor's invitation to join him at head-quarters on the 12th of February, I reached Riga in forty-eight hours, and arrived in this town before day-break on the 2d of March.—The Emperor received me in his accustomed most gracious manner, and, in an audience immediately after the parade, was pleased to state the outline of his recent operations.—In the first place, the result of his Imperial Majesty's communications to the Court of Berlin, made on his first arrival at Wilna, has been the conclusion of a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, with that power.—The Plenipotentiaries are Marshal Prince Kutusoff Smolensko, and the Chancellor Baron Hardenberg.—In pursuance of this renovation of amicable relations, the most active combined military operations are already in progress.—This day a report has been received of the actual occupation of Berlin by the forces of his Imperial Majesty, under the Aid-de-Camp-General Chernicheff.—The head-quarters of the Russian army are established in this central position, to give the necessary time for receiving recruits and convalescents, who are daily arriving, and for supplying necessaries to troops who have been engaged in a campaign of an unexampled and uninterrupted series of military operations and marches for eleven months.—This pause will, however, be of short duration. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the march of the Russian army, and the conciliatory proceedings of the Emperor, with that of Buonaparté, and the troops under the French Generals.—The most rigid and correct discipline has been observed in the Duchy, as well as in Prussia.—His Imperial Majesty, though in possession of the keys of Warsaw, has not

placed a soldier within its walls; and has, in every instance, treated the Poles with the utmost clemency and indulgence.—The Austrian auxiliary force, in consequence of an unlimited armistice, are gradually retiring to the Gallician frontier.—Regnier's corps, as I conjectured, retired behind the Austrians, by Rawa, to this place; they were here overtaken by General Winzingerode, who attacked them with inferior force, and put them to flight, taking prisoner the Saxon General Rostitz, three colonels, forty-seven other officers, fifteen hundred rank and file, with two colours and seven cannon. The remainder of this corps pursued their retreat in the direction of Glogau, probably not exceeding five or six thousand men.—It remains for me to offer my congratulations on the signal success which has hitherto attended the great and unremitting exertions of the Emperor, who, in the course of two months, at this season, has continued the pursuit of the enemy from Wilna to the Oder; and has united to his own zealous endeavours, the decided and hearty support of the King of Prussia, and of the whole population of his dominions, who seem most solicitous to emulate the Russians in patriotic donations, as well as in personal service.—I understand the Polish government, which withdrew from Warsaw under Prince Poniatowski, went, in the first instance, to Petrikaw, and a part with the Prince are gone to Czentochaw, where it is said some force has been assembled: and I have also understood that the Polish part of Regnier's corps, after the affair of Kalisch, took that direction. A Russian corps is stationed to the southward of Warsaw, to observe their motions.

*Imperial Head-Quarters, Kalish,
March 26, 1813.*

My Lord,—In my dispatches of the 6th instant, I had the honour of reporting my arrival at this place, and of detailing to your Lordship the progress which the Emperor had made in his arrangements, and in preparations for the campaign, together with the gigantic steps which had already been taken in carrying on the military operations already begun. These reports in—
(To be continued.)